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ABSTRACT

A study of the usage patterns and role of Scottish Gaelic in communities throughout Scotland is presented. Results suggest that in order to preserve and enhance the prestige of the language and its literature, the economic viability of those communities must be maintained. A link is observed between: (1) pride in the language and the distinctive lifestyle it conveys, and (2) the social morale needed to maintain and develop the community. Responsibility is placed on the Scottish Gaelic ethnic-political leadership for the acquisition of resources for economic development, based on existing policies and the development of new initiatives, in the areas in which Gaelic is commonly spoken. The type of economic development desired is a holistic one that respects and builds on the pluralistic nature of the Scottish islands' economy. (MSE)

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WHAT FUTURE FOR SCOTTISH GAELIC SPEAKING COMMUNITIES?

Clive James

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DISCUSSION PAPERS IN GEOLINGUISTICS

No. 14

Department of Geography and Recreation Studies
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Introduction

This article examines the current extent of Scottish Gaelic speaking communities in Scotland today and to what extent their future survival is being planned. All reference to Gaelic/Gaels (etc) are exclusively to Scottish Gaelic.

Following an examination using ennumeration district data from the 1981 Census of Scotland of the current location of Gaelic speaking communities, the activity (or lack of) of the main local government units, central government agencies and other relevant bodies in relation to the planning of Gaelic are examined. Prior to making conclusions a brief examination of the contemporary Faroe Islands situation is made. Throughout the article contemporary English versions of place names are regretably used to avoid confusing the non Gaelic reader.

Distribution of Gaelic Speaking Communities in Scotland

In 1881 when knowledge of Gaelic was included as a question in the decennial census of Scotland for the first time over a quarter of a million people aged 3 years or over could speak the language - 5 per cent of the population of Scotland. Of these ninety per cent lived in the Highland and Islands. One hundred years later just less than 80,000 persons could speak the historic tongue of the Scottish nation - 1.7 per cent of the population of Scotland. Today only sixty per cent of the Gaelic speakers live in the Highlands and Islands. A further 3,300 persons were able to read and/or write the language to give a maximum Gaelic community in Scotland in 1981 of 82,600 persons.

When the future of Gaelic speaking communities is being examined the location of these speakers is critical. By local government areas this in 1981 was:

Area	No. of Gaelic Speakers	% local Population	% Scottish Total
Western Isles Island Council (W.I.I.C.)	23,447	80 per cent	30 per cent
Highland Region (H.R.)	16,632	9½ per cent	21 per cent
Strathclyde Region (S.R.)	24,805	1 per cent	31 per cent

Over the traditional Highlands and Islands counties some 20 per cent of the population can speak Gaelic. Within this area Lewis is the largest, single homogenous community of Gaelic speakers.

However, when the distribution of the Gaelic speaking population is examined some striking facts emerge which are vital indicators for the survival of Gaelic speaking communities for the future. There is general agreement that 70 - 80 per cent at least of a community need to speak a language if it is to survive as a community language. Areas where more than three quarters of the population speak Gaelic account for only one quarter of the Gaelic speaking population. Even when the threshold is lowered to 50 per cent only one third of the total are included. Conversely some 50,000 Scottish Gaelic speakers (two thirds of the total) live in areas where less than 50 per cent of the total population speak Gaelic. Taking the 70 per cent figure the following Gaelic speaking communities emerge from the 1981 Census:-

W.I.I.C. - The entire island chain except the Balivanich and Stornoway areas.

H.R. - North Skye - Staffin, Flodigarry, Kilvaxter, Kensaleyre

- West Skye - Portnalong, Struan, Bracadale, Vaternish, Healaval

- South Skye - Elgol, north Sleat, Skulamus

- Canna

S.R. - Tiree

Over the remainder of the traditionally Gaelic speaking Highlands and Islands the percentage is sixty or less - including most of Skye and all of Islay and Mull. On the mainland the highest percentages do not even exceed 50 per cent. Only in remote Stoer, Achiltibuie, Inverasdale, Applecross and Inverinalate do they even approach that figure.

When thinking of future Gaelic speaking communities the age structure of the population is important. The only communities in Scotland where there is a greater intensity of Gaelic amongst the younger generations than the older are:

W.I.I.C. - Most of north and west Lewis, Harris, Berneray, North Uist, South Uist, Barra.

H.R. - Parts of Skye (Duirinish West, Kilmur, Sconser, Sleat)

S.R. - Tiree

If the trends 1961-71 and 1971-81 are briefly examined then what you see is:

W.I.I.C. - a static situation

H.R. - less decline on the islands, especially 1971-81

S.R. - less decline on the islands, especially 1971-81
- the break up and virtual cessation of the Glasgow Gaelic community

However, even in the strongest areas there has been a decline of the use of Gaelic in the shop, hall, school yard and around the sheepfold. While there is a more favourable parential attitude to Gaelic in schools, there are more linguistically mixed marriages. Surveys have shown continued loyalty to Gaelic (e.g. in Harris, North Skye, North Uist and Barra). Members of the Roman Catholic, Free and Free Presbyterian Churches have also been shown to possess a greater loyalty to the language than members of the, established, Church of Scotland

In looking towards the future of Gaelic speaking communities in Scotland the decennial census reports show how small the human resource for the future is and how the language is maintained over time. The pattern for younger persons during the period 1961-1981 was fairly healthy with an increase in base numbers and language acquisition during subsequent decades. However, by 1981 the base figure had fallen drastically.

CENSUS	AGE GROUP		
	3-4	13-14	23-24
1961	1,085		
1971	1,227	1,756	
1981	738	1,927	1,790
1991		?	?

Despite the numerical minority of Gaelic in Scottish society today an opinion poll has shown surprisingly high support for the language on an all-Scotland sample. Of those interviewed:

67 per cent supported recognition of Gaelic

64 per cent supported promotion of Gaelic

71 per cent supported more Gaelic learners' programmes

50 per cent supported more Gaelic on radio and television

68 per cent supported bilingual signs and notices

82 per cent supported Gaelic being taught in all schools

A survey in Barra and Harris saw the future of Gaelic being closely linked with more broadcasting, Gaelic in schools, summer schools for learners, Gaelic cultural centres and bilingual signs - in that order of importance. When the future of Gaelic speaking communities is being discussed what is really under examination is the situation on some of the islands off the west coast of Scotland. The language may survive on other islands, on parts of the west coast and in urban centres elsewhere in Scotland. However, there it will be a language of restricted domains.

Strathclyde Region

Strathclyde Region is Scotland's most populous and wealthiest local government unit. It's Gaelic speaking population falls into two groups:

(i) the traditional area of Argyll mainland and islands with over 6,000 Gaels and

(ii) the exiles' community in Glasgow with over 9,000 Gaelic speakers. The latter, which, when Glasgow was the factory of Scotland, once attracted a continual influx of Gaels in search of work who on arrival then reinforced the community which had arrived before them.

However the economic decline of Glasgow has resulted in a more dispersed migration pattern. In the last twenty years the Glasgow Gaelic community which once reared Gaelic speaking children (similar to the Liverpool Welsh and London Welsh) has largely ceased. This is most noticeable in the recent closure of several Gaelic churches in the city.

While Strathclyde Region has no formal policy towards Gaelic, it has become a partner in certain joint ventures such as *"CnaG"* and the publishing venture *"Acair"*. The Region has established a bilingual Gaelic-English primary school in Glasgow and several city high schools offer Gaelic on the curriculum. Two peripatetic teachers of Gaelic have been appointed to serve Argyll.

The vast territory of Argyll and Bute District Council covers what was traditionally almost entirely a Gaelic speaking community. However by 1981 very few ennumeration districts had in excess of 70 per cent Gaelic speakers and often the number of speakers involved was very small:

Tiree - Kilkenneth (93%-143 speakers), Ruaig (86%-86), Hynish (84%-83) Balephetrish (70%-76). (The two main settlements - Scarinish and Crossapol were 60% Gaelic speaking)

Coll - None

Mull - Kilninian (90%-9) (Laggan adjacent was 54%-24)

Islay - Lossit (83%-25) (Portnahaven/Port Wemyss adjacent was 65%-83)

Jura - None

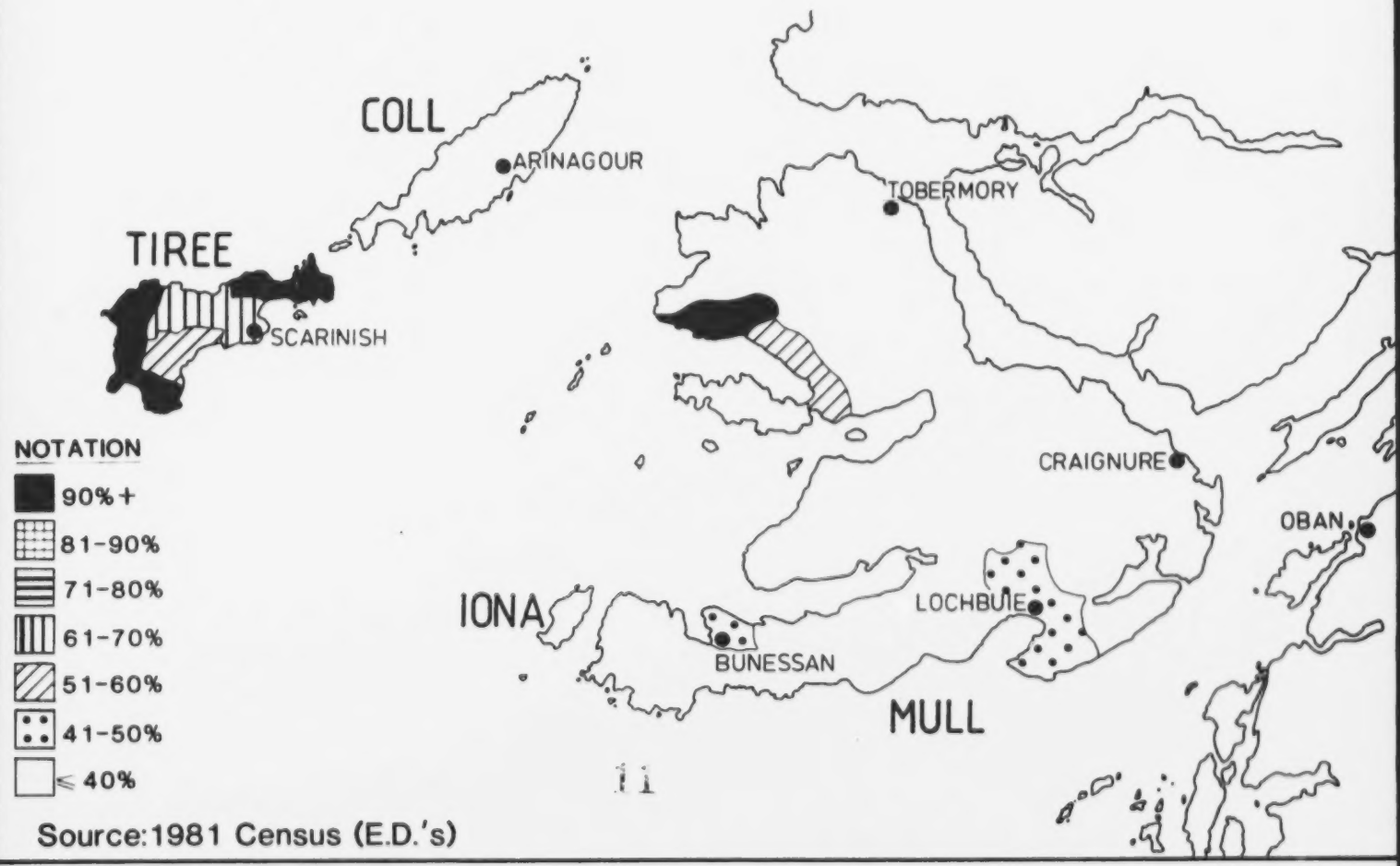
Colonsay - None

There are other remnants of Gaelic communities on all the islands above and the language is heard openly, especially on western Islay. Oban possesses a colony of exiles from all the western islands.

MAP 1

MULL, TIREE AND COLL

PERCENTAGE OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN 1981



Source: 1981 Census (E.D.'s)

The Strathclyde Structure Plan cannot be said to consider the Gaelic tradition of Argyll except in wishing *"to counter depopulation"*. Argyll and Bute District Council has produced local plans for *'Islay, Jura and Colonsay"* and for *"Mull, Coll and Tiree"*. The two plans are similar. Both contain an explanatory note in Gaelic covering a full page. In the context of Tiree the later plan notes that over 70 per cent of the population of Tiree speak Gaelic (where it is acknowledged to be *"still in common use"*) as is *"still spoken in Mull and Coll but only by 27 per cent and 28 per cent of the population respectively"* (Map 1). While the population of Mull increased by 30 per cent between 1971 and 1981 and Coll saw a minor increase, that of Tiree fell by almost 10 per cent. One quarter of Mull's population was born outside Scotland. Of Tiree's population of 750 some 30 per cent is aged over 60 years and only 20 per cent under 16. It is acknowledged that alternative employment to crofting is essential if Tiree is to retain its diminishing population. Lobster fishing is virtually the sole non agricultural industry on the island together with a small knitwear factory and local construction work. Holiday and second homes account for 28 per cent of the dwelling stock. A gaelic *"image"* to tourism on Tiree is beginning to emerge with some bilingual airfield, road and commercial signs and holding of language courses. This is lacking on Coll and Mull. Tiree also has an advantage over several islands in that it has a six year high school at Ard-Ghaidh Thiriodh.

Whereas the local plans for the Argyll islands are competent, professional, technical documents, only the implementation of policies to retain the indigenous Gaelic speaking population on Tiree will enable any

form of Gaelic speaking community to remain in Argyll and Strathclyde into the next century.

Highland Region

The Highland Regional Council *(Roinn na Gaidhaeltachd)* established in 1975 and with its administrative headquarters in Inverness has the responsibility for over 16,000 Gaels - one fifth of the Scottish total and one tenth of its population. It has produced a 136 page *"Highland Region Guide"*. The Convener's foreward says *"few areas in Europe are so rich in culture"* without elaborating as to which culture (or language), although a few pages later a sentence reads *"The Gaelic influence was once predominant through most of the area and still is in the west and the islands"*. Under *"Education"* one can read of the bilingual education experiment in eleven primary schools on Skye and under *"Leisure"* (sic!) drama is mentioned twice. In the lengthy sections rightly devoted to economic activity the close proven link between work and language survival is totally absent unless you wish to stay *"bed and breakfast with a Gaelic speaking family in Skye"*. The climax is a full page about Gaelic in English followed by a Gaelic version of the same. While a fair picture is portrayed it leaves a rather old fashioned image. However, the penultimate paragraph tells one that *"the Highlands and Islands Development Board . . . is investigating projects which might link linguistic and community development"*.

Highland Region set up a Gaelic Sub Committee in 1977. One early benefit was the introduction of 12 travelling teachers of Gaelic in 1978. Out of the labours of the Gaelic Working Party in 1980 came some further offerings, notably bilingual signs at the regional boundary and bilingual

directional signs in Skye and Lochalsh District, the latter with the Gaelic uppermost in green lettering with the English underneath in black lettering of the same size and script.

The Highland Structure Plan, approved by the Secretary of State with minor modifications in 1980, identifies as the key issue the scarsity of employment rather than land. Thirty per cent of the Region's Gaelic speakers (and the only remaining Gaelic communities excepting Canna) are in Skye and Lochalsh District. The Regional Council has prepared a local plan for this district, the first draft of which appeared in 1982. The entire Gaelic related context in the 155 page document is as follows:

- *"Skye and Lochalsh is also unique in the Region, insofar as more than half the population (54%) speak Gaelic. This aspect of cultural heritage plays an important part in the economic and social development of the locality".*
- *"Approximately 10,400 people live in Skye and Lochalsh. Despite having the highest proportion of population over retirement age in the Region (22.3%), deaths continuing to outweigh births, and the underlying economic trends, the area has shown a consistently increasing population in recent years. However, the drain of young people away from the area may reassert itself if a revival of the national economy materialises without compensating local improvements. Population drift to larger communities has been noticeable but less marked than elsewhere in the Region as evidenced by the male unemployment rates. This may be due in part to the cultural affinity that prevails within the Gaelic speaking community and the wish to stay at home to get local*

employment. This desire must be engendered and encouraged with a constant drive and search for local jobs, but nonetheless the opportunities remain limited and out-migration will persist particularly from small remote settlements".

- *"The whole District forms an important tourist attraction based primarily upon romantic, historical association, the Gaelic culture and rugged scenery".*
- *"There has been much recent debate on the merits and demerits of bilingual roadsigns. This derives from local peoples interest in promotion of the Gaelic language. In certain circumstances, such signs have been erected. They are of interest to tourists but their main function is to sustain the interests of the Gaelic language. However limited in such an objective, this step may be encouraged by the Council and accommodated where appropriate where there is no prejudice to standards of road safety. Place names, street names and other informational signs may therefore be bilingual; prescribed, directional traffic and road signs would remain unilingual".*
- ***"Housing - Duirinish and Drumbuie***

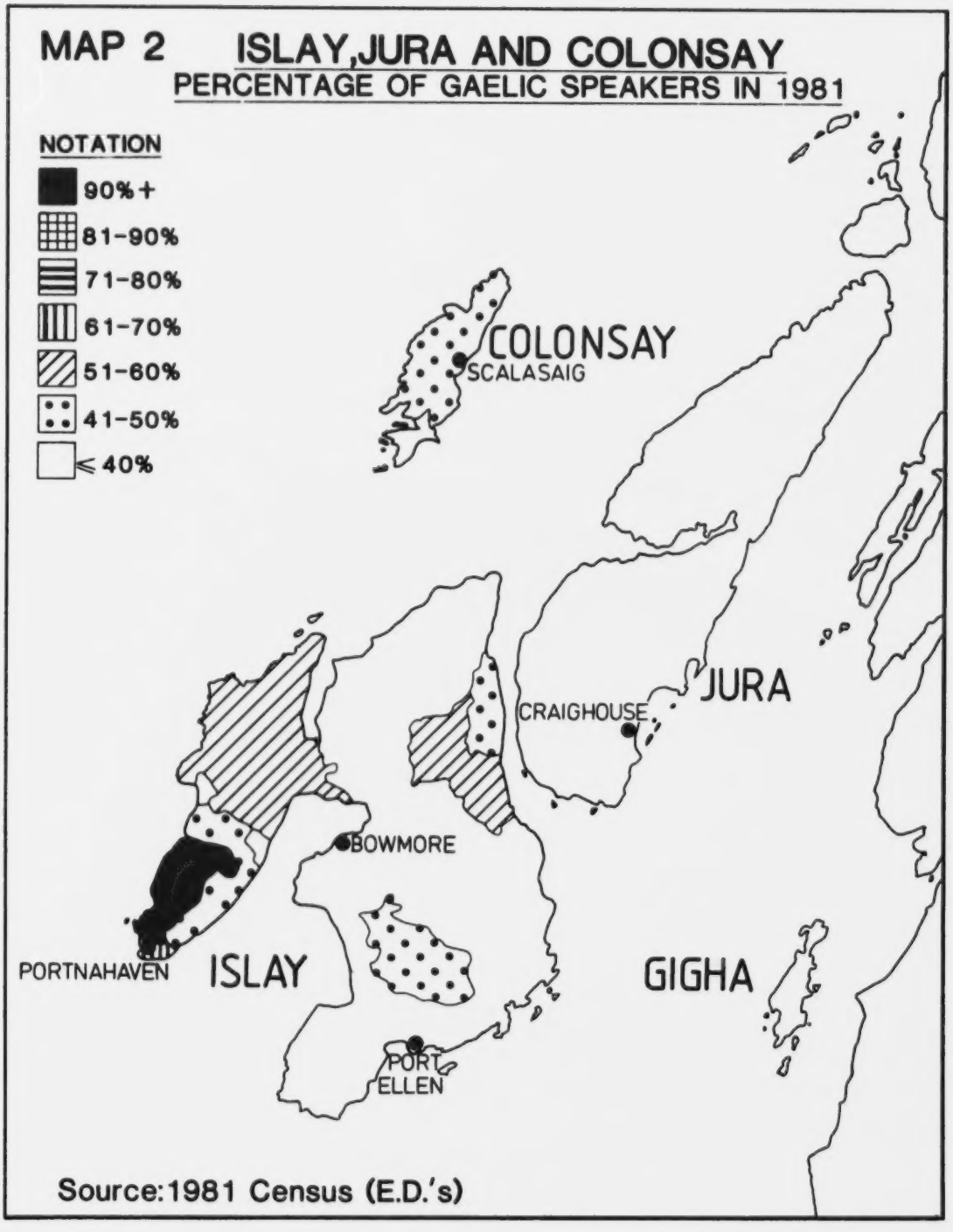
  These attractive traditional crofting villages are listed by the Secretary of State as being of national importance for their architectural and historical interest. Any proposals for new infill development or modernisation of properties will need to take this into account in terms of siting, detailed design, scale and use of materials. It is important to protect the good agricultural land which lies between the two villages. Single-phase electricity supplies are a further development restraint. It is also important to note the

Gaelic cultural interests still prevailing in small communities such as this. This must be protected indeed fostered not least by controlling the scale and phasing of new developments. Nowhere is the concept of incremental growth and change more important than in small settlements such as these and where there is evidence of a solid Gaelic cultural affinity".

- *"The Gaelic College, An Sabhal Mor, has primarily a cultural function, but also economic, in terms of direct jobs. In the long term it contributes to the growing awareness of the cultural heritage and encourages the affinity of the people for their homeland. It is an important institution therefore, and should be encouraged to thrive and prosper".*
- *"Portree is a tourist destination. It is a village of historic associations and charisma and the Gaelic language is sustained as much here as anywhere by everyday business and commerce".*

A need for 350 additional jobs in Portree and north Skye are, correctly, seen to be *"promoted in ways which are self-sustaining, bring maximum benefit to local people and will maintain the integrity of the area".* At present 72 per cent of all paid employment in Skye is in Services (including 21 per cent in catering and 13 per cent in construction), 10 per cent in Primary Industries and 18 per cent in Manufacturing Industry.

The surviving Gaelic speaking communities in north Skye are insulated from the anglicising influence of Portree by the wild country beneath the Old Man of Storr (Map 2). Along the A855 from Lealt through Staffin, Flodigarry, Kilmaluag, Kilvaxter and Linicro are a series of crofting townships before on the return road loop the more anglicised ferry and


MAP 2 ISLAY,JURA AND COLONSAY
PERCENTAGE OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN 1981
NOTATION
90%+
81-90%
71-80%
61-70%
51-60%
41-50%
≤40%
COLONSAY
SCALASAIG
JURA
CRAIGHOUSE
BOWMORE
PORTNAHAVEN
ISLAY
GIGHA
PORT ELLEN
Source:1981 Census (E.D.'s)

fishing port of Uig is reached. The resident population is about 750 persons and between 76 per cent and 87 per cent spoke Gaelic in 1981. At Staffin a community co-operative, Co Chomunn Stafainn, has been established which includes a community hall, shop, craft outlet and cafe. Most jobs in this area are based on crofting/fishing supplemented by local services and tourism.

In north west Skye the Vaternish peninsular remains 76 per cent Gaelic speaking, notably at Geary in a community of 110 inhabitants. The area north and east of Healaval Mhor was 71 per cent Gaelic in a population of 190. On the west coast the Bracadale/Struan area was 7[illegible] per cent Gaelic - 115 persons in the population altogether. The most Gaelic area on Skye is the Portnalong and Fiskavaig peninsular with 80 per cent with a total population of almost 200.

Southern Skye contains few Gaelic communities. Remote Elgol is [illegible] per cent Gaelic (105 total population) and north Sleat (Tokavaig, Torskavaig and Achnacloich) is also 74 per cent (80 total population). Surprisingly so the Skulamus township adjacent to heavily anglicised Broadford is also 74 per cent Gaelic (65 population in all). The Drumfearn/Isle Ornsay area falls below the 70 per cent level by a mere [illegible] per cent (as does the Boreraig township and Carbost in north west Skye).

Overall, with the exceptions quoted above, the Skye and Lochalsh District Plan could have been written for any part of rural Scotland. The adverse impact of certain types of development upon a linguistic community are not considered. Neither is the immigration to the area seen as a threat to the local society.

Highland Region is the local education authority for the largest proportion of the land area of the formerly Gaelic speaking heartland.

However whereas their own survey in 1978 showed that 81 per cent of parents in Skye wished to see Gaelic taught in the primary schools, this policy is still not fully implemented. Teachers without the language are still being appointed to the island's primary schools. Conversely a Gaelic stream was set up in Portree in 1986. (The same year also saw the establishment of a Gaelic unit in Inverness).

Much of the future of Skye is seen through further development of tourism. In 1977 the Scottish Tourist Board sponsored a study of tourism in Sleat. The population of 400 was found to be made up of 60 per cent first language Gaelic and 40 per cent incomers. Three-quarters of households were surveyed. The main findings were:

- crofters had little or no contact with tourism or benefits from it.
- the majority were not opposed to tourism, but viewed seasonal traffic congestion and second homes adversely.
- benefits were seen in terms of increased revenue and employment and the company of visitors.
- a slight majority saw no impact on the Gaelic language.
- overall there were no strong feelings against tourism.
- the Gaelic College, An Sabhal Mor, was seen to have great tourism potential.
- there was a need to disseminate information on the language, especially on the ferry from Mallaig and in tourism information centres.

It is interesting to remember that one of the reasons in objecting to the running of ferries from Kyle to Kyleakin on the Sabbath Day was the threat to the local culture.

What is noticeable from the small area statistics for Skye is the

number of persons not born in Scotland. On the off island of Raasay 15 per cent of the population was not born in Scotland. The Gaelic speaking proportion is 63 per cent overall, but if expressed as a proportion of the population born in Scotland rises to 73 per cent. Other communities which show a similar substantial rise are:

Community (defined by E.D.)	**Overall percentage Speaking Gaelic**	**Gaelic speaking population as a percentage of population born in Scotland**
Heast	54%	76%
Breakish	49%	62%
Drumfearn/Isleornsay	67%	88%
Teangue	55%	66%
Aird of Sleat	61%	78%
Ardavasar	45%	58%
Sconsor	55%	77%
Torrin/Kirkibost	49%	73%
Luib/Dunan	53%	77%
Carbost	59%	70%
Milovaig	58%	78%
Glasphein/Glendale	56%	77%
Stein	32%	54%
Geary	76%	88%

Perhaps the Gaelic problem in Skye is not non Gaelic speaking Scots but monoglot immigrants from England?

Recently additional assistance to the farming and crofting communities on Skye has been available through the H.I.D.B. funded Skye Development Progrmme. It is intended to improve the inbye land so as to increase forage production, improve the quality of livestock and encourage joint ventures to purchase and share machinery. Training and demonstrations are being arranged. Young and potential crofters are being encouraged through a series of *"young crofters clubs"*. While all these activities may strengthen crofting on Skye and help retain Gaelic in its strongholds in the crofting areas of Skye, the appointment of a non Gaelic speaking project office will not assist the language's survival.

Western Isles Islands Council

The Western Isles extend from the Butt of Ness to Barra Head, a distance of 130 miles, together with isolated St. Kilda. In area the islands extend to 1060 square miles. The 1981 Census identifies 17 inhabited islands, although 29 islands have been inhabited at varying times since 1951. (Table 1). Of these two were solely inhabited by lighthouse keepers and one (St. Kilda) by military personel. Causeways link 7 inhabited islands into one southern group - South Uist, Benbecula, Grimsay (N.U.), Flodday, Grimsay (S.U.), Baleshare and North Uist with a total population of almost 6,000. Southward lie Eriksay, Barra and Vatersay. Eriksay is linked with South Uist by a car ferry and it is proposed to link Vatersay to Barra with a causeway. Berneray, between North Uist and Harris, has a car ferry to North Uist. The *"islands"* of Lewis, Harris and Bernera are linked together and have a combined

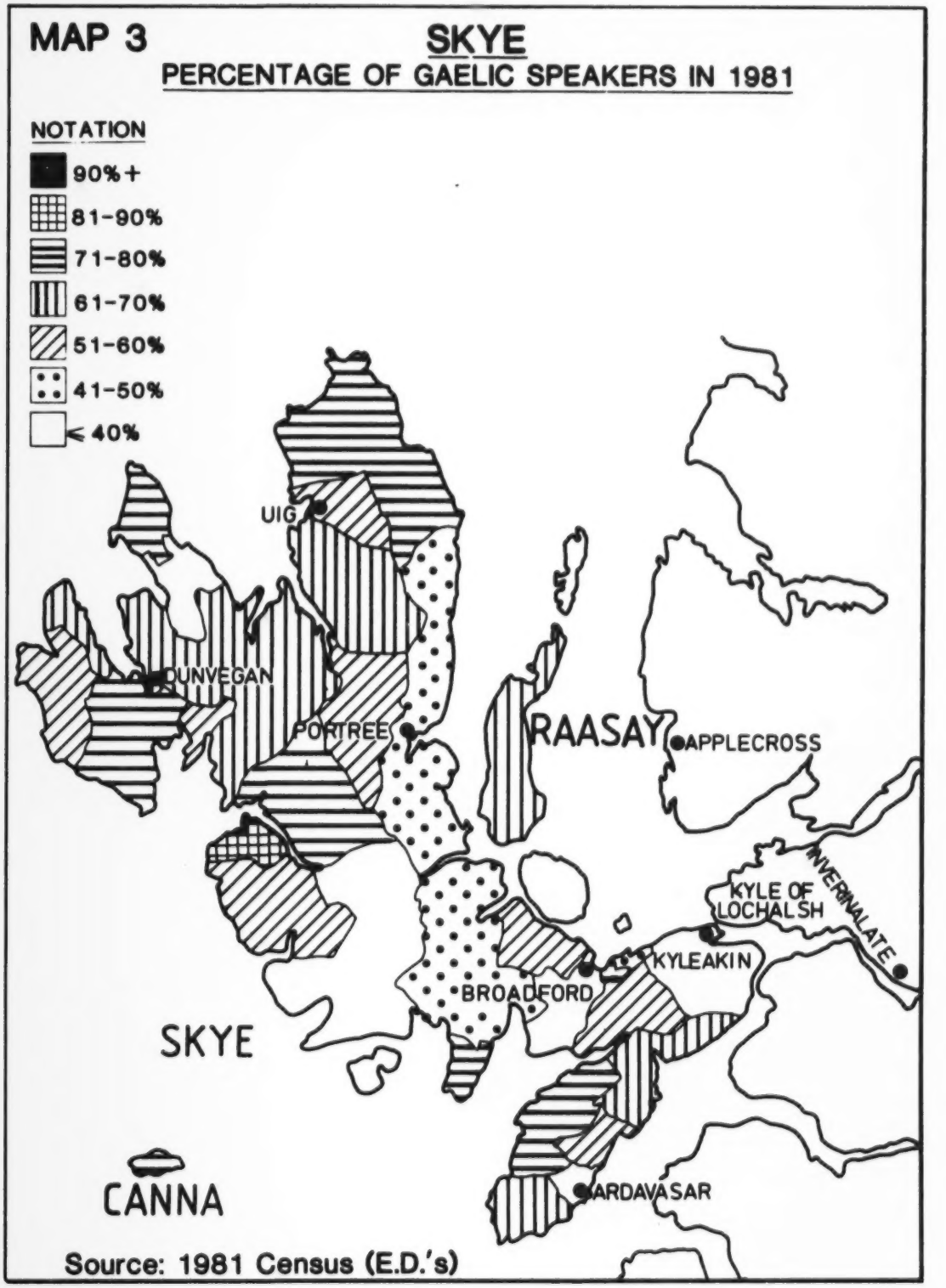
population of 23,000. A car ferry links Scalpay to Harris.

Altogether the Western Isles had a population of 31,840 in 1981, an increase of almost 1,000 since 1971. Of these 80 per cent spoke Gaelic in 1981 - the percentage in individual ennumeration districts varying from 100 per cent to 4 per cent (Map 3).

MAP 3

SKYE

PERCENTAGE OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN 1981



Source: 1981 Census (E.D.'s)

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF INHABITED ISLANDS 1951-1981

	1951	1961	1971	1981
BERNERAY	5	3	6	-
VATERSAY)	151	95	77	108
BARRA)	1728	1369	1005	1232
ERISKAY	330	231	219	219
SOUTH UIST)	2462	2376	2281	2223
BENBECULA)	924	1358	1355	1988
GRIMSAY (N.U.))	236	239	193	206
FLODDAY)	17	14	19	9
GRIMSAY (S.U.))	22	13	4	12
BALESHARE)	75	59	64	66
NORTH UIST)	1890	1620	1469	1454
EILEAN NA CILLE)	4	5	4	-
	5630	5684	5389	5958
BORERAY (N.U.)	7	5	-	-
KILLEGRAY (H)	-	-	2	-
LEIRAVAY (N.U.)	5	2	-	-
PABBAY (H)	2	2	4	-
BERNERAY	246	201	131	134
SCALPAY (H)	541	470	483	461
SCARP (H)	74	46	12	2
TARANSAY (H)	5	5	5	-
HARRIS)	3121	2493	2175	2137
LEWIS)	23344	21614	20047	21253
BERNERA)	384	317	276	292
	26849	24424	22498	23682
FLANNAN ISLANDS (L)	3	3	3	-
ENSAY (H)	2	2	2	-
ST. KILDA	0	65	65	46
KIRKIBOST	6	-	-	-
VALLAY	2	-	-	-
SUNAMUL	5	-	-	-
	35591	32607	29891	31842

Of the 142 inhabited ennumeration districts the percentage of Gaelic speakers is:

Percentage	Total E.D's	Cumulative Total	Total Speakers x	Cumulative Percentage
Over 90	- 53	53	10,356	44
81-90	- 38	91	6,547	72
71-80	- 14	105	1,969	81
61-70	- 13*	128	2,744	92
51-60	- 8*	136	1,488	99
41-50	- 2*	138	102	
Under 40	- 4+	142	161	100
			23,367	

* all near Stornoway

\+ all on north west Benbecula

x aged three years or older

Thus in excess of 80 per cent of the Gaelic speakers in the Western Isles live in ennumeration districts where 70 per cent or more of the population speak Gaelic (in Gwynedd only 55 per cent of Welsh speakers live in similar situations).

Census statistics can be notoriously wrong in assessing the actual use of a language. Fortunately in Lewis and Harris the results of a survey of language use in the context of the development of the Arnish steel fabrication yard are available. The sample was separated into six categories:

a - workers at the yard who previously were residents on the islands

b - workers who had returned to the islands to work at the yard

c - villagers living too far away to commute to Arnish

d - villagers living within commuting distance to Arnish

e - townspeople in adjacent Stomoway

f - the management of the yard

Questions were asked regarding:

1 - ability of the sample to speak Gaelic

2 - the use of traditional Gaelic names and nicknames (patronymics)

3 - use of Gaelic with friends and relatives

4 - use of Gaelic at work

5 - use of Gaelic at home

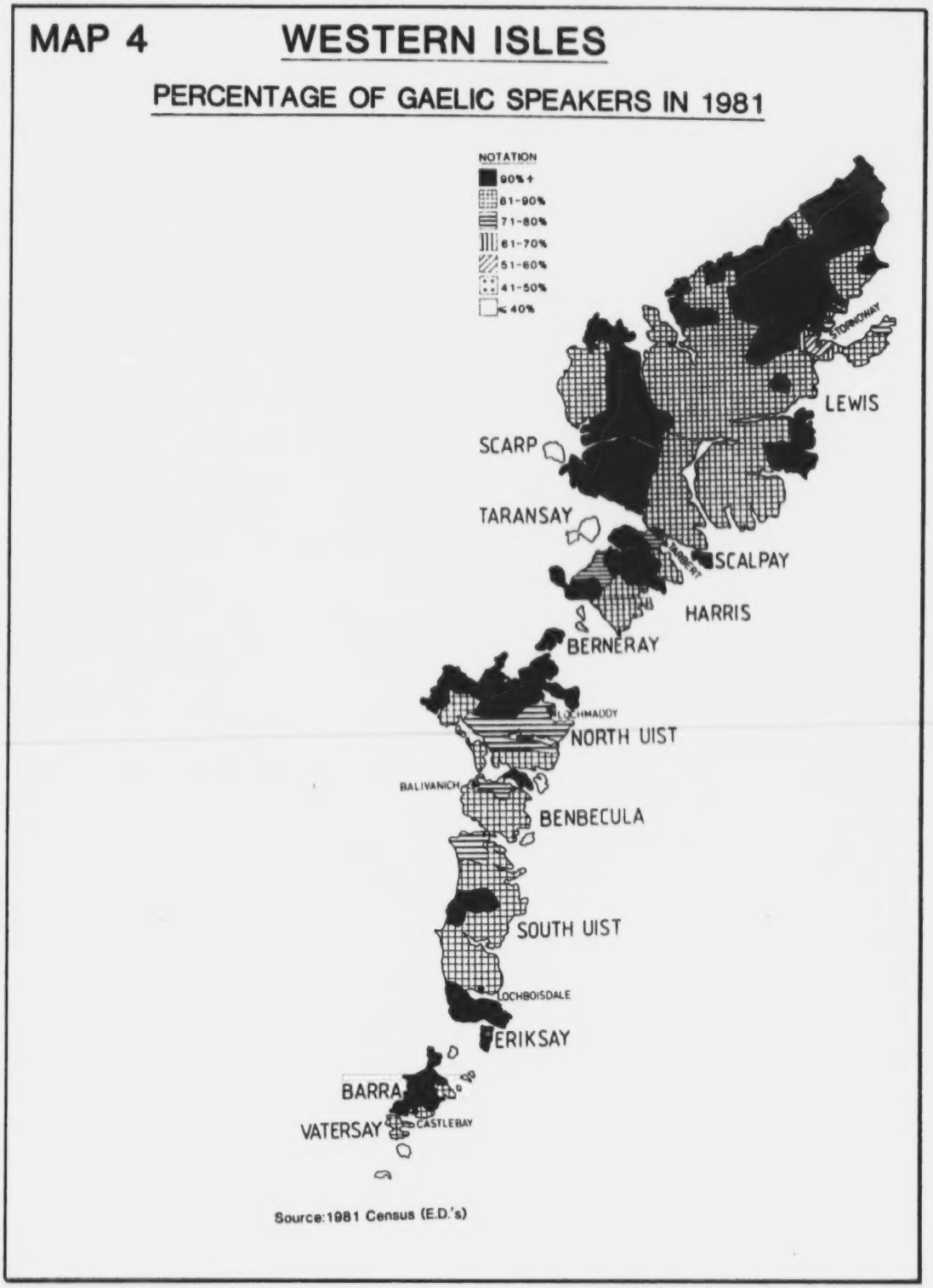
6 - use of Gaelic to older and younger people

The results are shown in Table 2. Line 1(a) is similar that expected from the census. Taken overall the results are encouraging for the survival of the language.

The foundation of the Western Isles way of life and the Gaelic language is crofting. There are over 6,000 crofts registered with the Crofters Commission which form some 5,400 working units distributed among 250 crofting townships. Of these 94 per cent are less than 100 *"standard man days"* and provide less than 2 days work per week for their occupiers and are typical less than 5ha. in area, averaging 3ha. Nevertheless they generate £2,000,000 worth of agricultural production per annum. However, the islands are no where near self sufficient in food products - for example 90 per cent of beef, 50 per cent of sheep meat and 75 per cent of milk is imported. Of the total land area 212,000 ha (77 per cent of the total) is in crofting tenure, including 88,000 ha of common grazings. The recent legislation which enables crofts to be bought and sold may undermine this link between Gaelic and crofting.

Numbers in employment grew from 7890 in 1974 to 9130 in 1978 before declining to 8900 in 1982. It was this growth in employment which led the in migration of 1970's. Of the employees in 1982, 6180 were on Lewis, of

which 4480 were in Stornoway itself. In fact 50 per cent of all employees are found in the Stornoway and Balivanich areas.



T A B L E 2

INDUSTRIALISATION AND MINORITY - LANGUAGE LOYALTY

	RESIDENT WORKERS	EXPAT-RIATE WORKERS	NON AFFECTED VILLAGES	AFFECTED VILLAGES	STORNOWAY	YARD MANAGEMENT
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
N=	109	75	100	105	100	25
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. GAELIC SPEAKERS IN SAMPLE						
(a) Yes	66	80	95	91	50	16
(b) No	20	11	3	8	36	80
(c) Ltl	14	9	2	1	14	4
2. USE OF PATRONYMICS						
(a) Yes	34	43	49	53	21	8
3. GAELIC SPOKEN WITH FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS						
(a) No	7	4	3	1	4	4
(b) Yes	55	75	93	88	43	16
(c) Occ.	16	13	2	5	16	4
(d) N/A	20	8	2	7	36	76
4. GAELIC SPOKEN AT WORK						
(a) No	12	7	2	9	12	4
(b) Yes	39	49	93	54	26	-
(c) Occ.	28	36	3	22	22	20
(d) N/A	20	8	2	12	38	76
5. GAELIC SPOKEN AT HOME						
(a) No	8	7	3	1	11	4
(b) Yes	61	68	93	88	40	16
(c) Occ.	11	17	2	5	12	4
(d) N/A	20	8	2	7	36	76
6. GAELIC SPOKEN TO OLDER AND YOUNGER PEOPLE						
(a) Older	67	80	96	90	50	20
(b) Yngr	40	60	88	58	12	4
(c) Dcrse	-37	-20	- 8	-32	-38	-16

Ltl = Little Occ. = Occasionally N/A = Not Applicable
Yngr = Younger Dcrse = Decrease

The main industries providing employment today (excluding self employment) are agriculture and fishing (11%), textiles (13%), construction (9%), transport and communications (6%), distributive trades (9%) and professional and administrative services (46%).

After the land, the sea is the next most important physical resource in the Western Isles. Lobsters are the basis of the industry in the Uists, Benbecula, Eriksay and Barra, with herring also important at Eriksay and at Scalpay and Stornoway. Stornoway also fishes prawns and white fish in season. The catch annually is 25,000 tonne of whitefish worth £1 million and 2,500 tonne of shellfish worth £2.1 million. Herring accounts for 42 per cent of landings by weight and shellfish 33 per cent. About 60 boats are based at Stornoway, where 85 per cent of landings in the islands are made, and 220 elsewhere, notably Castlebay, Eriksay, Lochboisdale, Grimsay and Scalpay. Fish processing is limited. Much of the shellfish harvest is exported by Wilsons of Holyhead, North Wales. Fish processing plants have been established at Stornoway, Kirkibost, Grimsay, Ardveenish (Barra) and Breasclete (Lewis) but several of these have had fluctuating fortunes. Exploitation of the sea's resources provides work for about 500 full time and part time fishermen and 120 full time and 50 seasonal share based jobs. Seaweed is gathered for fertilizer. It is also gathered for conversion to alginate and taken either to the Keose co-operative plant on west Lewis or shipped to Oban for drying.

Manufacturing industry is very limited. Boat building and repairing is undertaken at Stornoway, South Uist, North Uist and Lewis. The Harris Tweed industry is very cyclical in production. After two bad years 1975-80 the Harris Tweed industry experienced six relative good years 1980-86,

but still below peak production. In 1986, 740 self employed croft based weavers gained an income, nearly all on Lewis. About 350 mill workers are also employed, mostly in Stornoway with some in Shawbost and Garinin. Knitwear factories operate in Daliburgh and Stornoway. The other main element of the manufacturing sector is the steel fabrication yard at Arnish, just south of Stornoway. Here employment never rose to the promised 1,000 - a figure which would have resulted in large scale immigration of non Gaelic speakers to the area. At the peak some 500 were employed, while in 1987 it was down to 250. The lease agreement with the Stornoway Trust only permits essential maintenance work on Sundays in respect of the Presbyterian tradition of Lewis.

Within the services sector the main employers are:

- Ministry of Defence at Stornoway and Uists - 435 service and 250 civil jobs
- Comhairle nan Eilean - 2,300 persons, half part-time, three quarter of total on Lewis
- Health Authority - 550 (full and part-time), most on Lewis

Significantly in terms of language survival tourism is not nearly as important as on other Scottish islands but is the only growth income earner. Only 4 per cent of visitors to the Highlands and Islands visit the Western Isles. Despite the *"Gaelhols"* scheme of the Western Isles Branch of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* the specific Gaelic element in Western Isles tourism is as natural as is the language of the community. The small scale of the industry can be judged from the total of only 24 hotels, 10 guest houses and 150 bed and breakfast establishments in the islands together with 350 static caravans for hire. Hotels, bars and catering account for around 500 jobs throughout the islands.

It is more usual to talk in terms of *"development of tourism"* than of *"tourism and community development"*. The difference in emphasis is designed to stress the importance of seeing the benefit to the community first and to the tourist and the wider tourism industry second. Better roads may infact reduce the local benefit of tourism as visitors are able to *"do"* an area in less time (beware the suggested Skye bridge). Growth in domestic tourism is expected in specialist activities and pursuits - poney trekking, mountaineering, canoeing, orienteering, nature study, learning crafts, Gaelic lessons, working on a farm or croft (there are dude ranches in U.S.A!), highland dancing, local history and legends, cookery, photography. Most communities in the Western Isles have the raw materials. They have real communities and real people. No new technology is required. Tourism is labour intensive and its revenue is widely spread among the community in terms of expenditure on accommodation, food, souvenirs, petrol, drink, and meals, etc. Encouragement to local or community development of tourism would increase the likelihood of profits staying in the community and not filtering out. Community development can increase the chance of success can identify the right persons to be involved, breed confidence in new projects, gain local and political acceptance and release local talent. Within the community there will be a product and accommodation. These need to be matched together and marketed.

Irrespective of how an income is earned in the Western Isles, it is likely to be a low income. In 1980, for example, the average weekly earnings for males in full time employment over 21 years was less than 80 per cent of Aberdeen levels.

Registered unemployment in the Western Isles in December 1986 reached

a total of 1798 males (32.2 per cent of the insured population) and 556 females (a figure deflated by the lack of employment for women but entitled to claim benefit and which decreases away from Stornoway and Balivanich. By island areas the figures were:

	MALE	FEMALE
Lewis	1197	345
Harris	194	49
Uists and Benbecula	307	131
Barra	100	31

The genuine unemployment figures are reckoned to be at least one third higher than the official ones due to the numerous statistical devices which have been introduced to keep the numbers down.

Of these who left secondary school in the Western Isles in 1982 -

- 17% found work in the islands
- 7% found work outside the islands
- 42% went on to further or higher education
- 27% were on a government special programme
- 7% were unemployed
- 2% fell into other categories

In 1976 Comhairle nan Eilean published its *Aithris na Roinne*/Regional Report, (entirely in English) - a planning document unique to Scotland within the United Kingdom context. It acknowledged that *"islanders, by*

having access to both Gaelic and English cultures have derived their own particular view of the world from comparing and contrasting aspects of these cultures. In particular the difference between native language of the Western Isles and that of most of mainland Britain has produced a strong stimulus for islanders to develop a distinct outlook and attitude to life as well as providing the basis for a feeling of community, in a broad sense, among Gaelic speakers within and outwith the area".

It is most relevant to take note of what was said about community characteristics:

"(i) The family unit can be viewed as still being strong throughout the area. Social control (and conformity) through community and extended family pressure is strong. Social evaluation is stressed as being a vital importance in child rearing practices. Family supports are still available in some measure but the implications of family rejection can be strong. This, together with the lack of anonymity inherent in small rural and especially island communities, may be a factor which encourages some young people to leave the islands.

(ii) The Church throughout the Western Isles is seen as being of major social importance and carries great authority (and control) over the outlook of the population. This involvement varies considerably in nature and emphasis between the Presbyterian middle and northern parts of the area and the Catholic southern part.

(iii) There is still a strong sense of community in rural villages, particularly with regard to township work and annual crofting and domestic activities. Communal sheep shearing and dipping, peat cutting, potato planting, etc. take place regularly. Traditional attitudes are still strong, making the introduction of new patterns of work/behaviour, in some

cases, difficult.

(iv) Within the area there are differences in customs and ways of life between the islands and more noticeably between the rural crofting townships and urban Stornoway".

The key issues to emerge from the analysis of the islands' council area were:

- continued population decline due to persistent and selective out migration
- unemployment, especially long term (30 per cent is for over 12 months)
- dominance of employment in the tertiary sector
- underdevelopment of the fishing sector
- the importance of crofting
- problem of livestock marketing
- contracting of the Harris Tweed industry
- underdeveloped nature of tourism
- one third of housing of below tolerable standard
- the need for a 6 year secondary school in the Uists
- the role of bilingualism in formal education
- the large number of small primary schools
- the elderly population structure
- very low level and uneven distribution of recreation provision
- the need for an efficient inter and intra island communications system
- high transport costs restrain development
- 5,500 households lack main drainage
- electricity supplies in rural areas are only capable of domestic

loads

- a very high landscape standard
- a very high standard of flora and fauna

Out of these issues developed the two main objectives of Comhairle nan Eilean:

1 the reversal of the trend of population decline due to persistent and selective out migration from the area

2 improvement in the situation of the people in terms of employment and the provision of public and other services

These were to be achieved by action in five fields -

a - employment	- development of indigenous activities
	- development of fisheries
	- promotion of development through provision of serviced sites and advance units
	- encouragement of non agricultural activities supplementary to crofting
	- improvement of agricultural production
b - housing	- compaigning for a higher rate of improvement grant
	- greater grants and loans for crofters
	- encourage new houses for owner occupation
	- provision of housing for rent
c - transport	- press for Road Equipment Tariff on all ferries
	- co-ordinate all transport
	- finance social need transport
	- improve the main inter island link

d - education - establishment of a six year secondary in Benbecula

e - infrastructure - extension of mains water supply

- extension of mains drainage

Proisect Muinntir nan Eilean - the Western Isles Community Education Project - was established in 1977 as a three year experiment with financial assistance from the Van Leer Foundation. The philosophy was *"that, basically, human life is indivisible and that, therefore, promotion of economics at the expense of social development, or social at the expense of cultural, is arbitary, artificial and, in the long run likely to be unsuccessful"*. Thus the use of the Gaelic langauge was naturally an in-built element in all the activities undertaken.

It was hoped that through applying education resources the communities involved might see their problems more clearly and find ways of tackling them for themselves. Initially the project concentrated in three areas, Ness in Lewis, Harris and Iochdar in South Uist. From the start the need to understand local history as a stimulus to cultural awareness was considered central to the analysis of a community's social and economic reality. Out of this came the establishment of numerous local history societies now functioning in the Western Isles.

Out of the project have come certain conclusions towards the understanding of the factors crucial to long term community development:

- a stable and cohesive social environment
- an awareness of a sense of pride on the part of the community in its culture, including its language
- a realistic and analytic awareness of the past and its part in shaping the attitudes of the present - liberating the past as

force for, rather than against, progress

- a conscious appreciation, on the part of developers, of the inter dependence of the social, cultural and economic domains in community life

The W.I.I.C. subsequently adopted a *"development from within"* philosophy strengthened by the new appreciation of the role of the Gaelic language and culture. This approach was encouraged by the outcome of the Van Leer project. In order to generate employment and retain its population many activities play a role:

- provision of premises - conversion of old, vacant buildings; conversion of empty property to offices; adaption of redundant schools; building of new units (as at Barvas)
- provision of land (as at Stornoway)
- finance - encouragement of participation in H.I.D.B. schemes
- advice - the Council's own development officer compliments that of the H.I.D.B., a local craft council has been set up
- tourism - a large grant is paid to the Western Isles Tourism Council
- training - through extensive participation in job creation programmes unemployment once fell below 7%; material and other non labour costs were financed H.I.D.B. 50%; W.I.I.C. 35%; and the sponsor 15%

  - Youth Opportunities Programme. There is no shortage of sponsors and there is a local Area Board
- research and development into local and natural resources - aliginate, crabs, other shellfish, fish farming, peat

- lobbying - against the proposed diesel areas electricity surcharge; continuance of the Arnish yard, establishment of consultative committees for crofting and fishing
- transport - campaigning for a Road Equivalent Traffic on the ferries to the mainland; (small vehicle ferries run by the Council run to R.E.T. rates)

In 1976 the Chairman of the H.I.D.B. visited Co. Donegal and was impressed by the success of local co-operatives This led to the Board in 1977 establishing its Community Co-operative Scheme and the appointment in November 1977 of two Gaelic speaking field officers in the Western Isles. When a co-operative (co-chomunn) is set up the Board matches local capital £1 for £1 on the condition that the co-operative is run on a one-member, one-vote principle. Normally an Establishment Grant is about £20,000 A 100 per cent management grant of around £15,000 per annum is available for the first three years, followed by 50 per cent for a further 2 years. In addition to co-chomunn is eligible for the usual 50 per cent (occasionally 70 per cent) H.I.D.B. assistance in grants or loans.

Every co-chomunn has a Gaelic identity and all but one in the Western Isles a Gaelic name. Use of Gaelic by the field workers encouraged both confidence and trust. Gaelic at last has become a language of business, at least in less formal day to day administration. However some of the managerial appointments have not been Gaelic speakers. In the Western Isles it is estimated that the co-chomunn have generated 28 full time and 50 part time equivalent jobs. The locations, employment and turnover in 1986 were:

Name	ALL YEAR FT	ALL YEAR PT	SEASONAL FT	SEASONAL PT	Out Workers	Trainees	Sales (£)
Barra Community Co-op	2	1	1	0	0	0	133,000
Co Chomunn an Iochdair	3	2	0	1	0	0	201,000
Co Chomunn Bhatarsaidh	2	0	1	0	0	0	94,000
Co Chomunn Eirisgeidh	3	0	0	0	15	0	236,000
Co Chomunn na Hearadh	10	6	1	0	60	1	322,000
Co Chomunn na Pairc	6	0	0	0	60	0	102,000
Co Chomunn Scalpaidh	2	1	0	0	0	0	15,000
Total	28	10	3	1	135	1	1,104,400

At the present time assistance to community co-operatives takes up about 2 per cent of the Board's annual budget. Retailing in one form or another is the dominant activity. Other activities include salmon fishing, peat extraction, transport, catering, community hall management, knitwear, crafts, upholstery, tourism, building work, bar, JCB operation, trout farming, horticulture, coal merchant, fish processing and marketing, chandelry and D.I.Y. Most co-operatives emerged out of some specific local development opportunity, for example the threatened closure of a village shop.

In October 1985 some 20 community enterprises in the H.I.D.B. area came together to form an association of their 3,500 individual members. The Association of Community Enterprises in the Highlands and Islands now

produces its own magazine (which includes articles in Gaelic). Links are also maintained with Ireland.

The initial H.I.D.B. Community Enterprise programme was due to expire in 1986. It has however been extended for a further 3 years with £250,000 available per year in addition to normal grants and loans. The recognised positive and valuable features of community enterprises are:-

- 94 per cent of financial assistance goes to *"fragile areas"*
- they are created and controlled by local people
- they supply new or improved local services and exploit local resources
- they are a reasonably cost effective method of creating employment
- they have an educational and confidence raising effect
- once created they can exploit new development opportunities
- profits are retained locally

To date one co-operative, Co Chomunn Nis in Lewis, has failed and has gone into voluntary liquidation. A pioneer Co Chomunn established in November 1979, its main trade was in agriculture requisits. Following its demise in February 1986 the Association is looking for guidelines to prevent similar occurences. Not listed above is the Keose Co-operative who took over an alginate plant and who collect, dry and grind seaweed. Sixteen full time real jobs have been generated and an annual turnover of £300,000. Diversification into salmon farming and mussel cultivation has since taken place.

Besides a potential long term economic impact, the Co Chomunn have great potential for strengthening the social and cultural fabric of community life. From its natural community base Gaelic has been discretely introduced into a minor business domain where previously

English was the norm.

The largest single public investment in the Western Isles in recent years has been the £57 million Integrated Development Programme. This has been funded 60 per cent by the Department of Agriculture Scotland (D.A.F.S.) and 40 per cent by the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) and commenced in September 1982, for a 5 year period. There is a steering committee comprising representatives of D.A.F.S., W.I.I.C., H.I.D.B., the Scottish Economic Development Department, the North of Scotland College of Agriculture and the Crofters Commission. The overall economic and social objectives were set as:

- to increase incomes and employment opportunities
- to maintain the indigenous population; to preserve the islands' communities; to build up a reservoir of skilled persons
- to add value to Western Isles products; to encourage greater economic self sufficiency and to maximise investment within the Isles
- to promote a level of infrastructure on services necessary for economic and social needs
- to encourage and support community effort, self reliance, identity and culture
- to maintain a proper balance between human needs and the environment

Grants paid to December 1986 amounted to £14.8 million, in the following categories:

- land improvement schemes	:	£8.4 million
- building and machinery	:	£2.4 million
- livestock improvement scheme	:	£1.7 million
- livestock marketing	:	£0.6 million
- fish farming	:	£3.3 million
- fish processing and marketing	:	£1.4 million
- miscellaneous	:	£0.3 million

Grant aid was at 75 per cent for land improvements, 75 per cent for buildings and marketing and 50 per cent for machinery.

The 6,000 crofts in the Western Isles have 24,000 ha of in-bye land and it was hoped to improve 13,000 ha over 5 years at a cost of £1.6 million, although by December 1986 some £7.3 million had been spent hence increasing grazing and reducing the need for feed substitutes. At present the lack of winter fodder and the cost of imported feed results in livestock being sold off in the autumn. An estimated 10,000 acres of common land was to be improved at a cost of £1 million to lengthen the grazing season and improve stock condition, in fact £1.4 million was spent. One fifth of the coastal machair was scheduled for re-seeding and draining, a total of 1,000 ha. Here, there is a serious clash with conservation interests (Grade I National Nature Reserves and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (S.S.S.I's) cover 13 per cent of the Western Isles and 40 per cent of the land area) although expenditure here was only £50,000 compared with an estimated £300,000. National Scenic Areas cover 40 per cent of the land area as well). The machair is the habitat for 40 per cent of Britains corncrakes, 14 per cent of the plovers, 19 per cent

dunlins and 50 per cent of the greylags. The herb rich sward contains over 60 different species. However, except in financial extent the agricultural measures are scarcely different from the pattern of support over the past 20 to 30 years.

One of the traditional weaknesses of Western Isles agriculture has been marketing. The formation of the Highlands and Islands Livestock Limited (HILL) has provided a marketing body for west coast and island crofters. It represents 1,000 producers, including 450 in Lewis. Each area has a *"fieldsman"* who is trained in the grading of lambs. HILLS's job is to sell the stock, co-ordinate transport, gather in money and pay it out again. Crofts gain convenience and stability of prices. A new mart has been provided at Lochmaddy and another is proposed at Lochboisdale. Lochmaddy slaughterhouse has been upgraded and new ones built at Tarbert and on Barra to supplement the existing Stornoway abattoir. The H.I.D.B. is investigating the feasibility of a small scale sheep meat processing plant on Lewis.

Social funds from the E.E.C. will enable a further £35.6 million of expenditure. This will mainly go on roads, piers and ferries. It will however, include:

Tourism	:	£2.7 million
Exploitation of seaweed resources	:	£0.8 million
Promotion of Harris Tweed Industry	:	£0.8 million
Mineral exploitation	:	£1.0 million

Under the I.D.P. the development of berthing and landing sites has been approved at Kallin (Grimsay), Griminish (N. Uist), Scalpay, Kirkibost, Poll na Cran (Benbecula), Berneray, Orosay (S. Uist) and Tong (Uist). Other slipway priorities required include Petersport, Loch Ceann Dibig and

Cheesebay, followed by Carloway, Leverburgh, Skigersta, Miavaig, Scalpay and Breasclete.

Despite its intent of being an *"Integrated Development Programme"*, there was little revolutionary about its content. An *"Agricultural Development Programme"* might have been a better title with such a high proportion of the funding going towards agriculture, notably land improvement and fencing. However, the project did concentrate on development of the islands' natural resources and not importing external *"solutions"* to essentially local problems.

The Report of Survey for the Western Isles Structure Plan was published in November 1983. The tone of the entire report is set in the *"Background"* section:

"The Western Isles in common with many other parts of the Highlands and Islands has, over the past 250 years, experiences social and economic changes which, in many instances have been severe and which have contributed significantly to the formation of the "character" of the area today. In understanding the problems of, and opportunities for, the area, it is essential to have regard to these recent aspects of the history of the area, and in particular to the main social and economic changes which have affected its development.

It is necessary, in addition to appreciating the social and economic changes which have taken (and are taking) place, to consider two further elements which have been, and still are, important to the formation of the "way of life" and "character" of the area. The geography (location, form, physiography) of the area, and the existence of a language different from that of the country as a whole must be recognised as being basic to an understanding of the area, its history and its development.

Many of the planning and development problems and opportunities which the Structure Plan must tackle have their origins or background in the historical/geographical/linguistic context. It is important therefore to view the remaining chapters of the Report of Survey against this background".

Contrary to popular expectations the population of the Western Isles is quite urbanised. Of the 30,700 resident population in 1981 (an increase of 7 per cent over 1971) 40 per cent live in and around Stornoway in the Broadbay area. By island areas the total population is distributed: Lewis - 66 per cent; Harris - 9 per cent; Uists and Benbecula - 20 per cent and Barra - 5 per cent. Relative to Scotland, the Western Isles has more young people, less working age people and more elderly and the very old. Between 1971 and 1981 population growth occurred in the Barra, Benbecula and Broadbay area. Net in-migration 1971-81 was in contrast to the selective out migration of past decades which gave rise to the current unbalanced age structure. It is envisaged that overall the population will stabilise with small scale growth or decline in certain areas. In economic terms crofting and pluralism dominate the work pattern.

The draft Written Statement for the Western Isles Structure Plan was issued in November 1986. It mainly addressed three key issues:

1 the lack of job opportunities throughout the area, in particular outwith Stornoway and Balivanich

2 the provision and maintenance of an efficient communications network both within the islands and between the islands and the mainland which does not penalise the users as a result of the insular nature of the area

3 the provision and maintenace of service and facilities appropriate to the needs of the dispersed settlement pattern of the Western Isles

Among the aims is included *"to safeguard and promote the unique cultural and linguistic attributes of the area"*. This aim is to be achieved through a series of 22 objectives. Promotion of economic development in the islands is seen as a greater importance than resolving land use conflict. Thus a policy area/strategic network approach is adopted which involves:

1 identification of parts of the Isles where similar policies may be applied to similar problems, concentrating on dynamic principles and a common direction

2 identification of a strategic network of settlements or groups of crofting townships which is superimposed on to the policy areas. This de facto acknowledges selective action in the future in determining priorities for expenditure both in locational and chronological terms.

Settlements in the Western Isles can be categorised into six levels:

1 Stornoway - the main industrial, commercial, service and administrative centre

2 local administrative, educational, transport, housing, health centres - etc. Tarbert, Balivanich, Daliburgh, Castlebay

3 more localised centres than (2) e.g. Ness, Shawbost, Carloway, Back, Bayble, Leurbost, Balallan, Leverburgh, Scalpay, Lochmaddy, Bayhead, Iochdar, Lochboisdale

4 settlements with a primary school and other service functions

5 townships with only minimal facilities

6 very small settlements with no facilities

In determining which settlements prefers a strategic function their facilities were considered in connection with the following factors:

1 population of each settlement and its hinterland

2 the quantity and range of employment opportunities in the settlement

3 distance from and the relationship to Stornoway and Balivanich

4 proximity to and relationship with neighbouring settlements

5 the extent of the hinterland served

6 the level of remoteness

7 the quantity and range of services presently provided

8 geographical, cultural and historical factors

Through the comparison of the two lists led to the selection of settlements which together cater adequate for each area in respect to development impetus. Sometimes a group of townships or settlements together form one strategic settlement. These are distributed as follows:

Lewis - 12

Harris - 4

Uists - 9

Barra - 2

A broad geographical/functional analysis of the Western Isles shows four main zones:

1 areas dependent upon or directly related to Stornoway -

a - an inner commuter area of Stornoway and its environs

b - a traditional area where commuting and tradtional activities co-exist

c - an outer area where traditional activities dominate but with

some commuting

2 areas of more productive agriculture on the machair land

3 remote and/or hilly areas where traditional activities dominate, but few settlements and poor roads

4 the populous small islands of Vatersay, Eriksay, Berneray and Scalpay

Out of this classification emerges four policy areas:

1 *"Central Policy Areas"* - Stornoway and Balivanich - with a concentration of employment and population

2 *"Intermediate Policy Areas"* within commuting distance of Stornoway and Balivanich but mainly dependent on traditional activities and with local services

3 *"Peripheral Policy Areas"* which are remote, sparsely populated and have poor communications - both isolated parts of the *"mainland"* or offshore islands

4 *"Moorland Policy Areas"* which are virtually uninhabited and used for extensive grazing and game

The Written Statement contains detailed Strategic Land Use Policies which can be implemented by *Comhairle nan Eilean*, Supporting Policies which it is considered desirable to include in the Plan as they contribute to the implementation of the land use aspects and Proposals for implementing both sets of policies by the Council and other bodies. These policies concern the topics of

- general economic development
- agriculture
- fishing
- minerals

- industry and commerce
- transport and communications
- settlements and services

The emphasis throughout is on development based on the evolution of local resources, both physical and human, but recognising the dominant role of Stornoway and Balivanich as centres of paid employment and services. Proposals for specific projects are dispersed throughout the isles. In addition there is an element of positive discrimination in favour of the Peripheral Policy Areas on the *"mainland"* and inhabited off-isles. These mainly involve investment in infrastructure, economic development and roads.

The Central Policy Areas include the two areas with the lowest incidence of Gaelic speaking:

- Stornoway/Broadbay extending to and including Back, Eye Peninsular, Leurbost/Crossbost/Ranish and Achmore where the percentage of Gaelic speakers increases outwards form 57 per cent in Stornoway town to an inner band of 65-70 per cent and then increases to 78-94 per cent in the crofting townships
- North west Benbecula and north west South Uist, including Balivanich, Creagorry and Iochdar. Outside Balivanich with E.D. figures of 4-35 per cent, the remainder of the area is in the range of 78-89 per cent.

Looking through past censuses the range of figures has been very similar with only slight percentage decreases over the decades.

"The Peripheral Policy Areas" on the mainland are:

- west Uig beyond Gisla power station (84-95 per cent)
- north Pairc west of Balallan (82-96 per cent)

- Rhenigidale (a roadless township on the Harris mainland) (100 per cent)
- north Harris along the B887 (99 per cent)
- southern Bays of Harris (86 per cent)

with - Scalpay (95 per cent)
- Berneray (91 per cent)
- Eriksay (97 per cent)
- Vatersay (90 per cent) on the off isles

Except on the off isles where the revival of fishing has brought young people back to the islands (although sometimes with non Gaelic speaking wives and children) most of the Peripheral Policy Areas have an aged population structure.

The Highlands and Islands Development Board

The H.I.D.B. was established by Parliament in 1965 as a radical answer to the needs of a neglected area affected by economic decline, social fragmentation and steady depopulation. Within its area of remit dwell over 46,000 Gaelic speakers who comprise 20 per cent of the population of the Board's area and who are 57 per cent of all Scotland's Gaels.

To spur the development process the Board was given wider powers and more scope for initiative than any other United Kingdom development agency. They can:

- make grants, loans, or packages of both, meeting up to 50 per cent - or exceptionally 70 per cent - of the cost of any private development
- buy shares and appoint directors in any enterprise

- provide specialist business advice and support services such as job training
- acquire, sell and manage land, and construct building, for let or sale for industrial or other use
- assist social development projects
- sponsor publicity and marketing for the area, or for local companies
- set up and run businesses at their own hand
- undertake strategic plamnning with other public and private organisations, and commission research and feasibility studies

In the ten years to December 1983 the H.I.D.B. approved assistance totalling £175 million (at 1983 prices), creating or retaining an estimated 23,500 jobs in 7,000 enterprises. Three quarters of all grants and loans have been made to applicants from within the Highlands and Islands. Responsibility for promoting commercial projects is divided between four functional divisions - fisheries; industries development and marketing; rural land development (including farming and forestry) and tourism.

The Board has seen three phases of operations. The early period between 1965 and 1970 saw the development of policies. The Western Isles were not among the Board's growth centres, perhaps thankfully so if it avoided encouraging inmigration on a large scale. Of relevance to the Gaelic west coast and islands was the Fisheries Development Scheme with grants and loans for new and second hand boats. Tourism, was also an important factor in these early years, receiving 45 per cent of grants.

The period 1971-1975 was the oil years. There was also the continued development of fisheries, especially fish processing. However, Lewis

lagged behind in fishing and in 1974/75 fish prices fell. Growth in tourism continued.

Since 1976 adjustments have been made in the light of local government reorganisation. The Board lost its regional planning role in Highland Region and showed new interest in the west coast and islands. It has also been an era of decentralisation. Since 1977 there has been a permanent office in Stornoway. In 1976-78 tourism consumed over a third of the annual budgets. Lewis saw the development of onshore fishing related industry such as the Breasclete fishing processing plant which was intended to dry ling and blue whiting for export to Scandinavia and West Africa. Much of the literature of the Board extols the potential of the Highlands and Islands by external industrial interests through large grants for incomers. Scorn and mistrust has grown up with the Board's area over the refusal of small grants to extend local businesses.

The initial Board in 1965 did not contain a single Gaelic speaker. On the current Consultative Committee of 31 members only two are Gaelic speakers. In its early years the Board did directly sponsor certain Gaelic language projects such as the *"Club Leabhar"* book club and a Gaelic Learners' L.P. course in 1966. However a 1969 study on the problems of the Galway *Gaeltacht* in Western Ireland felt that the H.I.D.B. had *"no interest in Gaelic"*. In 1977 a seminar on bilingualism was convened and the *'Cliath'* primary school book project received a £6,000 grant. The year 1978 saw a report produced on Gaelic broadcasting.

The Board's Gaelic conscience then awoke and a working party being was set up which produced the report *"Cor na Gaidhlig"* in November 1982. This lead to the establishment in 1986 of Comunn na Gaidhlig (CnaG) in partnership with the W.I.I.C., H.R., S.R., and *An Comunn Gaidhealach*.

Subsequent Gaelic projects funded include a forum on Gaelic and youth in 1983, the funding of the adult learners body "*C.L.I.*" for three years 1983-1986 and £1,500 in 1986 to subsidise three drama weeks at *An Sabhal Mor Ostaig*. Rarely has a specific Gaelic project not been funded. In the Board's first 17 years of existence very few applications were made. In the following two years grants in excess of the previous total were paid out. Much of this increase stems from ideas recommended in the report of the Working Group into the language.

The Board's budget in 1984/85 was £41 million. Almost half £18 million) was spent on grants and loans, 80 per cent of all applications coming from within the area. Of the cases approved:

53 per cent are for sums less than £5,000

75 per cent are for sums less than £10,000

89 per cent are for sums less than £25,000

In 1983 it cost the Board £4,409 for every job created. In the same year the Board assisted 450 firms at a cost of £6.215 million - an average of £13,000 per firm. In addition 54 social cases were approved at a total cost of £144,000 - £1,600 each in average.

Many of the H.I.D.B.'s activities duplicate the work of the W.I.D.C. in the Western Isles. Between 1976 and 1980 the H.I.D.B. supported 315 projects on the Western Isles. £2.785 million was paid out in grants and £5.940 million in loans. It is estimated that this created 770 new jobs and retained a further 560. The Board has developed industrial sites at Parkend in Stornoway and Barvas in Lewis.

Recently the contents of the Board's "*structure plan*" for 1986-1991 became known. The aim is to increase the ratio of private to public investment to a level of 7:2. This will penalise development promoted by

local people without much access to capital. The Western Isles and Skye and Lodalsh are now regarded as *"fragile"* and in need of *"special attention and a high level of assistance"*. The proportion of spending on factory building is to increase at the expense of that on training *"to reflect lower demand for company training and a reduction of the commitment to supporting M.S.C. Community Programme"*. Fish farming is seen as a growth sector, especially in salmon, with diversification into other species such as halibut.

For the Western Isles the Board's priorities are:

- positive discrimination across the Board's full range of programmes. Areas of particular high need include Harris, Barra and Vatersay
- strengthening of crofting communities by encouraging diversification and co-operation
- maintenance of the momentum in sectors assisted under the Integrated Development Programme
- promotion of the Gaelic language and culture, integrated with economic initiatives where appropriate

For Skye and Lochalsh the priorities are stated as follows:

- promotion of mere intensive levels of agricultural and other activity in crofting townships
- encouragement for self-help and co-operative initiatives in all sectors of the local economy
- promotion of the Gaelic langauge and culture

In 1987 the Board is to fund a £250,000 industrial estate at Broadford on Skye.

Unless the provision of sufficient private capital is unavailable in these

areas these new priorities give greater hope for holistic community development in the future.

Comunn na Gaidhlig

Comunn na Gaidhlig resulted from a report prepared for the H.I.D.B. in November 1982 and began to function in 1984. Section of 5 of the report entitled *"Language, Community and Development : the Gaelic Situation"*. examines the connections between *"Language and Development"*. It begins by saying: *"Throughout history there is considerable evidence of co-incidence between the linguistic decay and the social and economic disintegration of communities. In the case of Gaeldom the linguistic decline of the past two hundred years has co-incided with periods of intense hardship and a general economic decline. If that economic decline has been stemmed to some extent in recent years, it should also be noted that this has coincided with a period of heightened linguistic awareness. Since an increasing number of bodies take pragmatic decisions based on such co incidence, and since it is increasingly becoming a matter for international research and thus offers potentially beneficial global linkages, it is a matter which should increasingly exercise development authorities in the Highlands"*.

and continues:

"The degree to which language can play a role in development in obviously as impervious to exact definition as is the intricacy of relationship between population distribution and development, or between central and peripheral economies, but that is not to argue that the potential does not exist and should not be explored. The circumstantial evidence in favour of this argument in the Gaelic case is quite

considerable. It is, for instance, an accepted commonplace that many Gaels domiciled elsewhere in Scotland would return home given the economic opportunity and, when given that opportunity, frequently do. It is entirely reasonable to expect that a Gaelic factor in the cultural ambience was instrumental in persuading many others to choose marginal economic circumstances rather than emigrate. It is equally reasonable to suppose that such a factor played a part in the intricate complex of historical and economic circumstances which now dictate that the remaining Gaelic areas are the most densely populated of the rural Highlands, as well as the more commonly accepted contention that the southern and eastern Highland districts were both depopulated and de-Gaelicised as a result of their proximity to emerging urban Centres, though this latter is undoubtedly a major factor".

"There is ample recent evidence of the Gael returning to the Gaelic communal ambience when given the opportunity, and this participating in and adding to the economic development of the area. Numerous well attested examples have been noted in the oil-related construction yards at Arnish and Kishorn: a few years ago the fishing industry in islands like Scalpay, Eriskay, Vatersay and Barra produced examples of similar phenomenon. We have already noted that the creation of Comhairle nan Eilean has added a new and welcome dimension to the Gaelic intelligentsia, while Fearann Eilean Iarmain has also persuaded young Gaels to return home."

"A new and interesting example of this tendency is beginning to emerge. The extension of Gaelic education in Highland primary schools seems to be playing a role in influencing Gaelic parents to return to an area where their children may have the benefits of a bilingual education.

Thus the children bring back with them parents who, having gained new skills and perspectives elsewhere, are still young enough to bring constructive elements back to a community from which they have not become too distanced by time. It is a tendency which deserves closer monitoring in the future".

"An examination of a range of development projects in the indigenous Gaelic areas of the Highlands over the past fifteen years suggests that many of them have been linguistically and culturally erosive. The fact that they have not been recognised as being so would seem to depend on two factors - the cultural dimension had as yet hardly entered into the developmental equation in Scotland, and such development as has taken place in the Gaelic areas has tended to be diffuse and on a relatively small scale. But the continuing tension and debate regarding the MoD presence in Benbecula and South Uist, and the public enquiry into the proposed oil-related developments at Drumbuie, are useful remminders that large-scale development in culturally sensitive areas do raise controversy".

"But though individual develpopment projects in the Gaelic areas have tended to be small and scattered, the cumulative effect of development stategy has undoubtedly been to dilute both language and culture. Even the regeneration of so native an industry as fishing has incurred penalties in this direction. Seamen from Berneray who have returned home to concentrate on fishing have brought with them non-Gaelic-speaking wives and children, thus upsetting the linguistic balance of the community in critical areas. The same phenomenon has been noted in other small island communities like Scalpay, Eriskay and Vatersay. And, despite their community orientation, some of the Chomuinn have been the means of

bringing non-Gaelic managers to the islands. In Skye, Gaeltec Ltd have shown how the electronics industry can thrive in the Highlands; but of their 17-strong workforce only four have a local, Gaelic background."

"The tourist industry is probably the development sector which has done most to undermine the viability of the Gaelic language and culture within its native environment, not through the large but ephemeral annual influx of visitors, but through the very considerable influx of new residents who have come to service the industry. Why the industry should have this apparent imbalance of incomers as opposed to local people involved in it is no real mystery. If one accepts that only a certain proportion of any population will have the necessary skill, incentive and access to financial resources to make a go of tourism, then clearly the actual number of people who have these particular attirbutes within the Gaelic community is infinitesimally small compared with the numbers outside. But the Highlands generally, and the Gaelic areas within them, are one of Britain's main tourist assets in terms of scenery and environment, and can support a tourist industry on a scale for beyond the resources of the local people to service on their own. Hence a major anglicising influence permeates the whole area, and its high public profile tends to further diminish the status of the Gaelic language".

"The grievance has frequently been heard in the Highlands and Islands that development policies actively favour the incomer at the expense of the local person. There does not seem to be much evidence to support an accusation of deliberate bias in this respect on the part of the development authorities, though several circumstances may conspire to give such a grievance a semblance of credibility. The Highlands, after all, are under-populated and under-developed and, given the financial aid

available for development, are a natural target area for talented entrepreneurs from the more populous parts of Britain which may be short on development opportunities, as, indeed, we have just noted in regard to the tourist industry. Such incomers may also come from a background which allows them to approach and speak to development agencies with an ease and confidence which history and communal experience have eroded in many local people of equal skill and talent. But what really matters is that a niggling irritation at being forced to accept cultural change imposed from without still lingers under the surface in many Highland, and particularly Gaelic, localities; and such irritation is as likely to lead to apathy as it is to positive assertion, and is thus likely to be counter-productive to any kind of development".

"To the extent that development stategies in the highlands have hitherto omitted to take account of a linguistic and cultural dimension it does seem that the local grievance of receiving inequitable treatment has some basis in fact. Certainly most developments that have taken place have contained within them factors which have been both supportive and inimical to Gaelic langauge and culture; supportive to the extent that they provide employment which retains Gaelic-speaking families in their indigenous area, inimical in the sense that they attract non-Gaelic speakers into an already fragile linguistic and cultural arena; and most developments seem to contain within them these contradictory factors at one and the same time. The Irish experience shows how difficult it is to neutralise this inherent tension even when linguistic and cultural dimensions have an explicit role in regional and commnal development; when such dimensions are ignored it follows that development stategies can he accused of being blindly and needlessly destructive of the local cultural

base and local cultural aspirations".

"If this is true, not only are development policies guilty of destroying a large and important part of the persona and identity of the area and community they set out to regenerate, but they are also guilty of eroding part of the potential basis for wider future development and of negating the effort and resources devoted to a more holistic approach to the development question by other agencies in the field. Thus the operation of a bilingual school, for instance, might be brought to nought by thoughtlessly placing beside it a major development heavily dependent on incoming population. This is not to argue that such a development ought not to take place, but that the linguistic and cultural factors should be considered as part of the wider developmental equation, and that all steps be taken to strengthen the cultural make-up of the community so that it could hope to absorb such a development if it was found on balance that it should go ahead". "There are several considerations which suggest that the time might be opportune to widen the concept of development in the Highlands to an extent that gives greater consideration to tis linguistic and cultural dimensions. One of these lies in the number of straws in the wind which suggest that agencies which have some development responsibility are already groping for definitions in this direction. Thus we have Comhairle nan Eilean regarding its bilingual policy as something that "should complement the policies for economic development", or Highland Regional Council's contention in the Skye and Lochalsh Local Plan that the Gaelic aspect of cultural heritage "plays an important part in the economic and social development of the locality". Apart from a progression of individual initiatives involving Gaelic by the Highlands and Islands Development Board several strands in the thinking which gave

birth to the Board seem to impinge on the Gaelic experience. So we have Secretary of State of Scotland, Mr. William Ross, contending that "the Highlander is the man on Scotland's conscience" as one raison d'etre for the new Board. The Board's first chairman, now Sir Robert Grieve, felt that part of the Board's business was to provide "an alternative way of life" to urban conformity. And he first introduced the concept that in the final analysis the Board would stand or fall by what it had achieved in the empty glens and islands of the west, a claim endorsed by all subsequent chairmen. While not explicit, the first two concepts hint at an awareness of the Gaelic dimension in Highland affairs. The third places the Board's record squarely on its achievements in a territorial area which coincides broadly with the indigenous Gaelic area".

A conscious appreciation on the part of developers of the interpendence of the social, cultural and economic domains in community life is one of the crucial factors in long-term community development. A healthy linguistic situation can be a considerable source of community strength. There is a need for a holistic approach to development following initiatives taken along linguistic and cultural channels within the Gaelic community. *"It now seems clear that to think of development largely in terms of attracting massive industrial investment to the area is futile, and a look back over the experience of the last twenty years shows that it never was an option of real significance in the more fragile crofting areas of the west. Highland Region's current attachment to the slogan "Small is beautiful" would seem to be a realistic assessment of the situation from the local perspective. Thus, the western seaboard and island communities are largely going to be thrown back on a process of regeneration from within their own resources. And one of the basic*

resources of these communities - as much part of their communal make-up as their response to the sea and the land - is their language and culture".

How might holistic development take place? In the field of tourist-related initiatives several ideas have been mooted; for example:

- establishment of a *Bureau Fiosrachaidh Gaidhlig*/Gaelic Information Bureau in Edinburgh to deal with all Gaelic related tourist matters - festivals, Gaelic week-ends, Gaelic Hotels/B & B. This would develop the smaller scale initiatives already began by the Western Isles Tourist Board through their *Gaelhols* scheme and by *An Sabhal Mor Ostaig.*
- promotion of indigenous foods in Gaelic speaking areas
- provision and distribution of source materials in Gaelic for interpretative centres, museums, accommodation

One of the major sources of funding for Gaelic related initiatives in the Gaelic speaking communities has been and is likely to continue to the H.I.D.B. It was recommended that the Board:

- displays a Gaelic face to the Gaelic community through a greater degree of bilingualism
- appointing Gaelic speakers to posts in the Gaelic speaking areas and in other parts where there is a large degree of contact with the Gaelic community
- examines its development policies and strategies to ensure that they include the cultural and linguistic dimension, including the definition of a *"Gaelic factor"* which could be routinely brought into play at an early stage in the consideration of individual developments and projects.

The national policy for Gaelic, in *Comunn na Gaidhlig's* opinion,

should recognise the principle that community development has social and cultural (including linguistic) dimensions as well as purely economic ones. In practice this has two main implications; that economic development can be either highly supportive of or inimical to linguistic development. All other government agencies involved in the development of the Gaelic communities, e.g. the Industry Department for Scotland, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, the Scottish Development Department and the H.I.D.B., should give active recognition tothe principle of the interdependence of the social, cultural and economic domains in community life as this relates to Gaelic.

In their submission to the review of the Highland Regional Council's Structure Plan *Comunn na Gaidhlig* made the following comments:

- the development of indigenous resources should be central to the strategy
    - natural resources - the land and the sea
    - human resources - the potential and culture of the people;
- that the Gaelic influence is an integral part of the heritage of the whole of the Highland Region;
- past mistakes where economic development initiatives have offered economic advancement at the expense of the language and culture of the people and a mere negative than positive effect in terms of community development should be seen as such;
- people who receive mixed messages about their linguistic and cultural identity and personal worth are not likely to be motivated to participate actively and enthusiastically in development initiatives;
- conversely, communities whose language and culture are valued by

the powers that be are most likely to have the self-confidence to become involved in the process of development;

- recognition of the linguistic and cultural identity of the Gaelic-speaking peoples for the area should be one of the basic factors in the development strategy for the Highland Region. This is particularly true for the areas in which the language is strongest, but the dynamics of linguistics and cultural interaction are such that any coherent strategy must make appropriate provision for the language and culture in all areas in which it exists.

The Gaelic presence in the Highland Region was categorised by CnaG into three groups:

- areas where the language is the language of the community e.g. in parts of Skye such as Staffin and Sleat
- areas where there are large concentrations of native Gaelic speakers in a mainly English mileu - e.g. Inverness and Fort William
- areas where the language is weaker but still with residual pockets of native Gaelic speakers and a number of learners

In planning for social and economic development, authorities should have regard to the implications of their strategies for the cultural environment and should seek to identify opportunities to strengthen the cultural and linguistic fabric of the community. For example new council housing should be provided in crofting townships rather than in growth centres such as Portree or Broadford. Development of tourism should be seen in terms of benefit to the community and not the visitor. Museum and interpretative services should be based on the principle of validation of

the language and culture of the area. In the field of Nature Conservation a balance is seen to be needed between the development of a flourishing rural economy through greater educational and interpretative facilities and through staffing policies. Relevant educational and training facilities in the coastal areas could provide the younger indigenous population with the skills needed to develop the fisheries industry - catching, handling, processing and marketing.

The 1986/87 work programme of CnaG consists of six areas:

- community development - linking of language with social and economic development;
- work with parents, young persons and children;
- education;
- language development research and planning;
- language promotion;
- establishment of a national policy frame work.

The four aims of CnaG include *"to confirm the integral position of the Gaelic language in the economic, social, moral and cultural development of the Gaelic speaking community"*.

The Montgomery Report (1984)

In their evidence to the Montgomery Committee on the powers and functions of the unitary islands councils in Scotland the Western Isles Islands Council believed that if the islands were to progress in the economic field the people in the islands will require strengthened confidence through the preservation of their cultural background. Economic prosperity is interrelated with cultural activites. However, in order to restore and develop community confidence the Council needed

additional finance. This was necessary to further develop the Gaelic element of bilingualism in the primary schools, to increase the degree of Gaelic teaching in secondary schools and for other visible aspects of bilingualism such as road signs and the public face of the islands council. *Comhairle nan Eilean* also wanted to take over some of the economic development functions of the H.I.D.B. (and health authority functions and airports). They claimed that reorganisation in 1975 had been a success and wanted to build on it. The Wheatley Report had earlier stated that *"local government should be regarded as the first choice for the assignment of public services to be provided on a local basis"*. Ad hoc boards were to be avoided. In this context it should be noted that 83 per cent of H.I.D.B. funding to industry and business is less than £25,000 per project, the average in 1983 being just over £17,000 per enterprise.

The Faroese Situation

In contrast to the Western Isles there is a ring of confidence radiating from the Faroe Islands. This group of eighteen inhabited islands and a few uninhabited islets with a total area of about 1,400 sq. km (540 sq. mls) lie isolated in the North Atlantic in latitude 62 degrees about midway between the Shetland Islands and Iceland. Faroese is the main language of the islanders. The population today is around 44,000 and with the exception of about 3,000 foreigners (mainly Danish) all speak Faroese fluently. In addition there is about 10,000 Faroese speakers living outside the islands, mainly in Denmark.

Since the Home Rule Act of 1948 settled the legal position and rights for the Faroese language both the linguistic, cultural and economic

situation has been revolutionised. In the first two years up to the age of 9 years of school only Faroese is taught. From then on Danish is introduced and later on English. Secondary education has been decentralised with 69 lower schools providing the first seven years of education with 97 per cent of pupils living at home. Eighteen of these schools are also lower secondary and cater for the next three years of education. Afterwards there are 7 upper secondary schools throughout the islands. Then there is a choice of navigation, technical, business, nursing and teaching training colleges in the islands and the Faroese Academy provides the first two years of university education in certain subjects.

Seven newspapers are published in the islands, one of which is in both Danish and Faroese and six entirely Faroese. Twenty magazines are published in the language. About 40 book titles are published annually, half educational and half poetry, novels and stories. Three towns have specialist bookshops. Established in 1957 the islands' radio station broadcasts 50 hours per week, nearly all in Faroese. Television commenced transmission in 1984 and broadcasts 3 hours per day. About 18 per cent of television programmes are in Faroese (62 per cent of which are news, current affairs or religious) and 82 per cent in other languages. There is a semi-professional theatre company and several amateur companies. Both the biggest religious sect, the Plymouth Bretheren, and the Danish National Church (Lutheran) now use Faroese almost entirely. In 1952 the Faroese Academy of Science was founded. There has been a lectureship in Faroese at the University of Copenhagen since 1936 (which was upgraded to a chair in 1953). Since 1975 the islands have issued their own stamps, passports and bank notes. Postage stamps create an income of £2.5 million

and provide 50 jobs. No wonder that many Faroese would like to dispense with Danish altogether!

Along with cultural prosperity there has been economic prosperity. The backbone of the economy is fishing with 45 per cent of the catch coming from the 200 mile exclusive fishing zone. Some 300 boats totalling 40,000 tons catch around 300,000 tons of fish each year. This generates 98 per cent of the islands' exports, 28 per cent of the Gross National Product and 25 per cent of the employment. Numbers of fishermen however fell from 4,300 in 1960 to 3,200 in 1970. The sales organisation *Foroya Fiskasola*, established in 1948, controlls between 80 and 90 per cent of fish exports. Its 20 filleting factories and 2 fish meal plants produce over 200 fish derived products. In recent years fish farming for salmon and trout has grown in importance.

Only 34 sq. mls. of land, 6 per cent of the total, is cultivated. Agriculture accounts for 1.6 per cent of the workforce and 3½ per cent of the Gross National Product. The islands are self sufficient in milk, but their 80,000 sheep do not enable self sufficiency in sheep products. In fact 60 per cent of food is imported.

From the needs of the fishing industry two modern shipyards employing 300 men have developed. Other local industries include cord and rope manufacture, brewing, paints, detergents, ceramics, toilet and kitchen products, knitwear, clothing, building industry components, plastics and soap. Some 63 per cent of all exports go to Denmark, but only 15 per cent of exports come from that country. Tourism, based on scenery and rod fishing, is a growing industry. Sixteen hotels throughout the islands have 820 beds and four youth hostels accommodate 235 persons. In addition bed and breakfast accommodation is available and three camp sites provide

for the hardiest visitors.

Since 1948 internal transport has been revolutionised. Two pairs of islands have been linked by bridges. New roads run along cliffs, through mountains and across sounds. The small tidal range assists the operation of the good internal car ferry service and regular passenger ferries serve all other inhabited islands. Bus services link all the main settlements. In 1954 a large new hydro-electric power station was opened at Stromo. Together with small water powered and diesel stations all settlements are now supplied with mains electricity. Locally produced coal provides two-thirds of house fuel.

The islands' have two banks, three saving banks and an insurance company. Fifty communes, ranging from Torshavn with 14,000 inhabitants to the smallest with just 26 people, provide local services financed by local income tax. There are three doctors and 1.5 dentists per 1,000 population. The three main hospitals have 340 beds between them. Faroese central income tax provide 55 per cent of government expenditure, the remaining 45 per cent being funded by a block grant from Denmark. However, the foreign debt now exceeds £70,000,000.

Despite a growing population and cultural and economic prosperity, between 1961-65 some quarter of the natural population growth emigrated in search of work and employment. In 1970 an Investment Fund was set up to promote diversification through 90 per cent loans at less than market rates and a wide range of incentives are available. There is no shortage of entrepreneurs, especially from Faroese previously working in Denmark and elsewhere. In order to diversify the economy away from fishing the following courses are being followed:

- further development of fish processing to increase the value added

and reduce transport costs

- fish farming of trout and salmon
- development of knitwear as an export industry
- processing of alginate
- development of the merchant shipping, including new ferry links with Scotland and Scandinavia
- exporting of technical advice in shipping

Conclusions

The cardinal issue is to maintain the economic viability of the area where there is still substantial Gaelic communities and to give the language and the literature the prestige they deserve. There is a subtle connection between a pride in a language and the distinctive life style it conveys and the social morale needed to maintain and develop a community. This has been observed in many places (such as the Faroese Islands). It would therefore need to be an integral part of statemanship concerned with the rehabilitation of outlying areas to encourage Gaels in Gaeldom.

The preceeding sections have demonstrated that there are few Gaelic speaking communities remaining in Scotland. Despite the anglicising influence of Stornoway and Balivanich only the Western Isles can be thought of as a predominantly Gaelic area with 80 per cent of its population able to speak Gaelic in the 1981 Census. The responsibility upon *Comhairle nan Eilean* is therefore great. In the absence of an influential Lord of the Isles, *Comhairle nan Eilean* must lead Gaeldom. This is true for educational matters (and very wise policy decisions will have to be taken in terms of location of educational establishments and the role and status of Gaelic in the current review of the provision of

primary and secondary education in the Western Isles) and economic matters. *Comhairle nan Eilean* must have wisdom, finance and power. Good Christians are wise people. Only the Scottish Office can supply adequate financial resources. There is a substantive case for strengthening the powers of *Comhairle nan Eilean* (and the Orkney and Shetland Isles Islands Councils) to include much of the powers of the H.I.D.B. Additional responsibilities should include the ownership and management of airports and harbours currently vested in other public bodies. Further education linked to economic development of the islands' resources needs to be developed. Newspapers, radio and television in Gaelic must be expanded. The three great natural resources of the area - the land, the sea and the people - must be developed in harmony and import substition industries encouraged behind the tariff of freight charges. Inter-island links must be strengthened further, particularly Barra to South Uist and North Uist to Harris. A credit union could revitalise the financial sector.

The draft Structure Plan for the Western Isles - *Dreach Aithisg Sgriobhte Conmhairle nan Eilean* - provides a sound basis for the survival of Gaelic in the Western Isles through its recognition of the uniqueness of the area, and the need for jobs, improved internal communications and retention and provision of services on a dispersed pattern in accordance to the distribution of the population. (It is the Gaelic speaking population that is most dispersed). The Aims, Objectives, Strategic Land Use Policies and, especially, the Supporting Policies of the draft Plan based on the three types of Policy Areas and Strategic Settlement Network interpret the problems and suggest ways forward to a future for the islands. What is in fact proposed is holistic development which respects and builds upon the pluralistic nature of the islands' economy. It is to

be hoped that the Secretary of State when he is asked to approve the final Plan will not insist on standardising the Plan to fit the mainland model.

From a strong base on the Western Isles there then can be the potential of supplying the other Gaelic speaking communities on the islands of Skye, Raasay and Canna with external assistance on their constant battle against local sources of anglicisation. Both groups of communities can then assist the survival of vestige Gaelic communities on the other islands and the mainland and provide a linguistic homeland for exiles and learners in the cities and other parts of Scotland.

There is a future for Gaelic speaking communities in Scotland if the correct steps are taken now.

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